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THE STRUCTURE OF KINA RUTUL NOUN PHRASE

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THE STRUCTURE OF KINA RUTUL NOUN PHRASE²

This paper presents a description of the NP in Kina Rutul (Lezgian, East Caucasian). The research combines corpus study and elicitation. The description provides a list of possible noun modifiers, types of syntactic relations between the head and its dependents, and the order of modifiers within a NP. I provide evidence for analyzing the Rutul numeral ‘one’ as an indefinite article and analyze various types of discontinuous noun phrases, which appear to lose phrasal properties.

Keywords: noun phrase; determiners; indefinite article; word order; Rutul; East Caucasian; discontinuous NPs; definiteness

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1. Introduction

The main goal of this work is to describe the Noun Phrase (NP) in Rutul (Lezgian, East Caucasian). The description contains the ordering principles of the elements within the NP and the means of expressing syntactic relations between these elements.

In this paper, an NP is understood as a combination of a head nominal and its dependents.

1.1. General information about Rutul

The main studies on Rutul are Ibragimov (1978), Alekseev (1994) and Maxmudova (2002). This section is based on these works and on my own field data (see section 1.2 for details).

Rutul is an SOV language with ergative alignment (both case marking and verbal gender agreement follow the S/P vs. A pattern). The word order is the same in main and dependent clauses. There are four genders in Rutul: nouns of Gender 1 and Gender 2 denote males and females respectively, while Genders 3 and 4 comprise all other nouns. Rutul nouns inflect for case and number. There are four cases (absolutive/nominative, ergative, dative, comitative) and ten spatial forms, see Tables 1 and 2. The absolutive is unmarked. Oblique case suffixes attach to the oblique stem of a noun, e.g. *edemi-je-s* [man-OBL-DAT]. The choice of an oblique stem marker is lexically determined. Spatial forms combine two meanings, the localization of an object with respect to a landmark and the orientation, i.e. the direction of motion (to or from a landmark) or the lack thereof.

Table 1. Rutul cases

Absolutive	-∅
Ergative	-a, -ra, -e
Dative	-s
Comitative	-k ^(w) an

Table 2. Rutul spatial forms

	in ³	apud	super	sub/post	inter/cont
essive/lative	-a, -e	-da	-ø	-χda	-k
Elativ	-a:, -ja:	-da:	-ø-la	-χ-la, -q-la	-k-la

There are two numbers in Rutul: singular and plural. The singular is unmarked, the plural is suffixal, e.g. *sɨw* ‘mountain’, *sɨw-bɨr* mountain-PL. Nouns are singular when used with numerals.

Adnominal attributives are derived by means of the attributive suffix *-dɨ* (*-d*) from various parts of speech: nouns, adjectives, verbs (the resulting form is a participle), adverbs. When attached to nouns, the attributive suffix behaves as a case marker: the oblique stem of the noun is required, e.g. *edemi-je-d* [man-OBL-ATTR]. According to Fedorenko (2016), attributive forms of nouns can function as possessor nouns and as adjectives. The difference between possessors and adjectives is that a possessor can have dependents, while adjectives can be modified only by degree adverbs such as *very*, *most*. A noun in the attributive form can express meanings including attribute, cause, material, alienable and inalienable possession (ibid.).

There are no third person pronouns in Rutul. Demonstratives are used instead. Compare the following examples (henceforth, examples from our text corpus are accompanied by an abbreviated text identifier):

- (1) a. *riši-jmaš-dɨ* *semja-bɨr*
 sister-OBL.PL-ATTR family-PL
 ‘sisters’ families’ (kna_2018_03_nzle_1963)
- b. *ha-biš-dɨ* *šü-be*
 that-OBL.HPL-ATTR brother.PL-PL
 ‘their brothers’ (kna_muhammadshafi05)

1.2. The data

The sources of the data for this study were texts collected in Kina village (Rutulsky District, Dagestan, Russia) during field sessions in 2016-2018 and data collected through elicitation during a field session in 2019.

³ Label *in* means ‘inside’, *apud* means ‘near’, *super* means ‘above’, *sub* means ‘under’, *post* means ‘behind’, *inter* means ‘in mass’ and *cont* means ‘in contact with’.

The corpus consists of 14 texts from 7 different consultants. It includes 4,157 tokens. The texts are of various genres: most of them (11) are narratives, but there is also one recipe, one autobiography and one description of berry-picking. Apart from this corpus, retellings of the Pear film⁴ were used. These are six texts from six consultants. If an example is not followed by a source indication, it means that it is elicited or appears in more than one text from the corpus.

1.3. The structure of the paper

In section 2, an overview of NP structure in typological terms and in languages that are related to Rutul is provided. In section 3, a description of the NP in Rutul is given. Discussion and conclusion sections end the paper.

2. The noun phrase: an overview

2.1. Noun phrase: a typological perspective

Dryer (2007a: 151) distinguishes three main types of noun phrases:

- simple noun phrases;
- complex noun phrases;
- noun phrases which lack a head noun.

Simple noun phrases consist of a pronoun or a head noun and simple modifiers. These modifiers include articles, demonstratives, numerals (both cardinal and ordinal), adjectives, bare nouns (as in English phrases *music teacher* and *cowboy*), locative adverbs (as in *the book there*), interrogative modifiers and quantifiers.

Complex noun phrases consist of the head noun and complex modifiers⁵. These modifiers include possessors (both nominal and pronominal), adpositional phrases (as in *that box on the table*) and relative clauses.

Noun phrases which lack a head noun may consist only of modifiers, may be headless relative clauses or may be noun clauses (clauses that take a syntactic position usually occupied by the noun phrase).

An example of a noun phrase that consists only of a modifier:

(2) *Your car is nice, but **John's** is nicer.* (Dryer 2007a: 195)

⁴ <http://chafe.faculty.linguistics.ucsb.edu/pearfilm.htm>

⁵ Dryer does not define the terms 'simple modifier' and 'complex modifier', still one can conclude from his paper that simple modifiers are non-phrasal, while complex modifiers are phrasal.

Dryer notes that such noun phrases could be analyzed as instances of the ellipsis of a head noun, but he argues against this point of view. For example, Spanish *lo grande* ‘the large (thing)’ is a noun phrase that consists only of modifiers but the assumption of ellipsis in this case is problematic, as *lo* cannot combine with a noun (Dryer 2007a: 196).

By headless relative clauses Dryer means “relative clauses that do not modify nouns or pronouns” (Dryer 2007a: 197).

(3) *I don't like what you bought.* (ibid.)

In some languages, relative clauses which do and do not modify a noun are the same, while other languages distinguish between these two types of relative clauses. For example, Yukaghir marks the participle of a headless relative clause by a special morpheme (Maslova 1999 via Dryer 2007a: 198).

Noun clauses are various syntactic constructions that can syntactically behave as a noun, e.g.:

(4) [*That he might return*] never occurred to me. (Dryer 2007a: 203).

Dryer's study is an overview of the possible noun phrases in the languages of the world. As described in section 4 below, not every aspect of his classification is relevant for Rutul.

2.1. Noun phrases in East-Caucasian languages

Noun phrases in East Caucasian languages are head-final (Testelec 1997: 274). The languages vary in how strict the order of modifiers within an NP is. There are no grammars of Caucasian languages stating that there is only one possible order of modifiers, but some languages seem to have a tendency towards one particular order of elements (Tsakhur (Testelec 1999: 303), Godoberi (Kibrik et al. 1996: 153)), while for other languages it is stated that the order of modifiers within NP is more or less free (Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 260), Hinuq (Foraker 2013: 730)).

There are languages that allow the postposition of modifiers with respect to the head. In this case, additional semantics arises: “the postposed modifier is focused, contrastive or restrictive” (Testelec 1997: 274). Among such languages are Godoberi (Kibrik et al. 1996: 149-150) and Tsakhur (Testelec 1999: 300).

At least in Bagvalal, postposed modifiers are not in the same constituent as their semantic head: syntactically both the noun and the modifier are dependents of the verb (Kazenin 2001: 403).

3. Noun phrases in Rutul

Rutul NPs tend to be head-final. Both nouns and pronouns can be heads of a noun phrase.

Note that in this paper I am not going to take conjoined phrases as in (5) into consideration.

- (5) zi=na iz-di edemi
 I=ADD I-ATTR man
 ‘me and my husband’

3.1. On the existence of articles in Rutul

I start this section with a discussion of Rutul articles. Then I give an overview of modifiers that are present in Rutul. After Dryer, they are divided into simple modifiers, complex modifiers and relative clauses. After that, I describe the syntactic relations between the head and modifiers in Rutul. Then the order of modifiers within NPs is discussed. The section concludes with a description of discontinuous NPs in Rutul.

Rutul is considered not to have any articles; they are not mentioned in any grammatical sketches of the language. There are contexts, however, in which numeral *sa* ‘one’ is functionally close to the indefinite article and demonstratives *mi* ‘this’, *ha* ‘that’ and *ti* ‘yonder’ are functionally close to definite articles. The same is described for Archi (Kibrik 1977: 333) and Aghul (Ganenkov et al. 2009).

The numeral ‘one’ is often a source for the grammaticalization of the indefinite article (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 220), while demonstratives (both ‘this’ and ‘that’) are the usual source of the grammaticalization of the definite article (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 109). As Becker (2018: 45) notes, “their development being a gradual process, it is difficult to motivate a clear cut-off point between the source elements and articles”. She then gives criteria that help to distinguish the source elements with extended functions from articles.

3.1.1. The numeral *sa* ‘one’ as an indefinite marker

For the indefinite article, Becker (2018: 56) distinguishes four functions that an element between the numeral ‘one’ and the article might have: (i) quantification, individuation; (ii) presentational; (iii) specific and (iv) non-specific. Quantification and individuation are the most basic functions of the numeral ‘one’. The presentational function is an ability to mark “prominent, topical discourse referents as not (yet) identifiable to the hearer” (Becker 2018: 55). Specific markers are the ones that mark “specific referents only and cannot encode definite referents” (Becker 2018: 29). Non-specific markers can “encode both specific and nonspecific referents” (Becker 2018: 55).⁶

⁶ “*Specific indefinite NP* is one whose referent is identifiable to the speaker but not to the addressee, while a *non-specific indefinite NP* is one whose referent neither the speaker nor the addressee can identify at the time of utterance” (Lambrecht 1994: 81).

If the entity in question has only the first (quantification & individuation) or the first and the second functions (quantification & individuation and presentational), it is considered to be the numeral ‘one’ with extended usage. But if this entity also has specific (i.e., can mark specific indefinite referents) or non-specific (i.e., can mark both specific and non-specific indefinite referents) function, it is considered to be an article (Becker 2018: 56).

To find out whether the Rutul numeral *sa* has the properties of an article, I checked what functions it has.

(i) quantification, individuation

- (6) ha-d **sa** **edemi-je-d** g^walax diš, ha-d
 that-ATTR one man-OBL-ATTR work NO that-ATTR
 xib-di juq’-di edemi-je-d g^walax w-i?i
 three-ATTR four-ATTR man-OBL-ATTR work 3-COP1

‘It is not one man’s job; it is a job for three or four people.’

(kna_2018_02_aziz_1969)

- (7) q^wa^s-r χiniχ χa-ni d-i?i, **sa** **χinχ-i-d**
 two-H child ASIDE.be-CVB HPL-COP1 one child-OBL-ATTR
 juq’u-dsen xu-d sen=kal-di ji?i, **sa=xa**
 four-4 year five-4 year=SIMIL-ATTR 4.COP1 one=ADD
 t’it’-e-χda gi-d k’a?-di ji?i
 nipple-OBL-SUB UNDER.be-ATTR small-ATTR 1.COP1

‘There were two children: one was four or five years old, the other was a nursing baby.’ (kna_muhammadshafi04)

In (6), *sa* has a quantification function – one person cannot do the necessary job, while three or four people can. In (7), *sa* has individuating function: from two children one was of one age, and the other one of another age.

(ii) presentational

- (8) nik’alaj wayt-inde daʁistan-d-e **sa** **gačax** ji?i-j
 tsarist time-TMP Dagestan-OBL-IN one outlaw 1.COP1-PST

‘In Tsarist times, there lived an outlaw in Dagestan.’ (kna_muhammadshafi01)

This text is going to be about this particular outlaw, presented in the beginning by this sentence. So, the outlaw is topical for this text, but the hearer cannot identify him yet. Therefore, *sa* has a presentational function in this context.

(iii) specific

Examples of this kind are harder to find, but there are some contexts where *sa* can be considered a marker of specific reference.

- (9) *salat'* *jiši-r* *iz-di* *sus-u*
 interested 1.become.PFV-CVB I-ATTR daughter.in.law-SUP
sa **mad-di**
 one other-ATTR

‘Another person has fallen for my daughter-in-law.’ (kna_muhammadshafi05)

The context of this sentence is that the narrator talks about a man whose daughter-in-law has unwanted admirers. This man comes to the elder of the village and says that they moved from another village because she had an admirer there. They came here and another person has fallen for her. This person is identifiable to the speaker (the father-in-law) but is not identifiable to the hearer (the elder) – therefore, it is specific indefinite.

- (10) *xala-la* *xu-ʔ* **sa** **edemi**
 behind-EL in.front-LAT one man
 ge-ɤ-ile-r=a
 UNDER-OUT-1.drag.IPFV-CVB=be

‘(She) dragged a man to the front.’ (kna_muhammadshafi01)

Here, the wife of the main character of the narrative was caught cheating on him. He commands her to show him her lover and she shows him *sa edemi* ‘a man’. This man is obviously specific. He does not become another character of this story (that is why it is unlikely to be a presentational *sa*), nor does he become a topic (there are no following sentences describing any actions by this person). However, the next several sentences are about his appearance (‘he was not tall, he was not strong, his face was ordinary, he was thin’ and so on). Nevertheless, I consider that the referent of the NP in this context is specific indefinite.

Sa is also interpreted specifically in polar questions:

- (11) *wa-s* *haj-a* **sa** **šuw** *ɤ-agu-r=a-ma?*
 you.SG-DAT there-EL one what PV-4.see.PFV-CVB=be-Q
 ‘Have you seen, um, anything there?’ (“hinting at something”)

(iv) non-specific

Contexts where *sa* marks a non-specific referent are also found.

- (12) *g^walaχ* *w-aʔa-r=a* **sa** **tike** **xiw-a-d**
 job 3-do.IPFV-CVB=be one piece bread-OBL-ATTR
 badana
 for

object, e.g. the Sun, which also was not mentioned in the previous context (to distinguish it from the anaphoric function).

If a linguistic element has a deictic function but cannot mark uniqueness, it is regarded as a demonstrative. If an element has no deictic function or can mark uniqueness, it is regarded as an article.

(i) deixis

- (14) he-mi-d=xa did jiʔi xur=xa he-mi a:
 EMPH-this-ATTR=ADD father 1.COP1 QUOT=ADD EMPH-this down
 nek'jah k'i-ix'i-a xur=xa **he-mi**
 marriage PV-4.write-IMP QUOT=ADD EMPH-this
xidil-nuw-di **mi** **edemi-je-d**
 woman-OBL-ATTR this man-OBL-ATTR

‘This father also says (to the mullah): “Marry this woman to this man”.’

(kna_muhammadshafi01)

The context is as follows: the father of the woman brings her and her lover to the mullah and introduces them to him. So, *mi* in this context must be deictic.

If the speaker is in Kina village, it is possible to say:

- (15) **mi** mu^ʕG^w gina w-iʔi, **ha** mu^ʕG^w luček w-iʔi, **ti**
 this village K. 3-COP1 that village L. 3-COP1 yonder
 mu^ʕG^w amsar w-iʔi
 village A. 3-COP1

‘This village is Kina, that village is Luchek, the village that is further is Amsar’.

(This example was constructed by me and approved by a consultant.)

These villages follow one another on the road to the lowlands along the Samur river. The use of demonstratives here is deictic.

(ii) anaphora

- (16) a. w-iʔi-d **awtobus-a** s-ü<d>q'u-r=a
 3-come.IPFV-ATTR bus-IN PV-<HPL>sit.PFV-CVB=be
 a-ni d-iʔi q'wa^ʕ-r žihil-er <...> žihil gada=xa
 be-CVB HPL-COP1 two-H young-PL young guy=ADD
 mi u: šuw hak'a-r=a **mi** **awtobus-a**
 this above what hold-CVB=be this bus-IN
 χi^ʕ-k-iχi-d hiši-r=a

PV-PV-1.stand.PFV-ATTR 1.become.PFV-CVB=be

‘In the moving bus there were two young people. [...] The young man stood in this bus, holding on to this thing above him.’ (kna_2018_05_gljh_1942)

- b. ix-di mu⁶G^w-a sa q’a’s-di maʔlim
 we-ATTR village-IN one old-ATTR teacher
 a-ni jiʔi <...> ha maʔlim-a-ra sa intiriesnij
 be-CVB 1.COP1 that teacher-OBL-ERG one interesting
 iχdilet hiχi-r=a a-ni jiʔi
 story 4.go.PFV-CVB=be be-CVB4.COP1

‘There was an old teacher in our village. [...] The teacher told an interesting story.’ (kna_said02)

- c. dibir-a-ra s-uq’u-r
 mullah-OBL-ERG PV-1.sit.PFV-CVB
 kʲ-i<l>xe-r=a w-ilc’a-r=a nek’ah
 PV-<IPFV>4.write.IPFV-CVB=be 3-give.IPFV-CVB=be marriage
 xur=xa ti edemi-je-da χ-ulka-r=a:
 QUOT=ADD yonder man-OBL-APUD PV-ask.IPFV-CVB=be
 “wi razi jiʔi?”
 you.SG consent 1.COP1

‘The mullah sat down and began the wedding ceremony, he asked that man: “Do you take her to be your wife?”. (lit. “Do you agree?”)’

(kna_muhammadshafi01)

(16b) continues the sentence (14) above. *ti edemi* ‘that man’ is the man that was already introduced in the discourse, the use of demonstrative *ti* here is anaphoric.

(iii) uniqueness

Rutul demonstratives cannot mark uniqueness.

- (17) mu⁶G^w-a hile w-iʔi (#ha) mazdik?
 village-IN where 3-COP1 that mosque
 1. ^{OK}‘Where is that mosque in this village?’
 2. *‘Where is the mosque in this village?’

The addition of the demonstrative *ha* does not imply the uniqueness of the mosque in question (i.e. that it is the one and only mosque in the village), but is only possible in an anaphoric

or deictic sense. The consultant commented: “With *ha* it means that it was previously spoken about the mosque and that is what the talk is about.”

Therefore, Rutul demonstratives do not show the properties of definite articles.

Other evidence for that conclusion is that it is possible to combine *sa* in the function of an indefinite article with a demonstrative:

- (18) *salat'* *jiši-r* *iz-di* *sus-u* *sa*
 interested 1.become.PFV-CVB I-ATTR daughter.in.law-SUP one
 mad-di// **ha** **sa** *edemi...*
 other-ATTR that one man
 ‘Another person has fallen for my daughter-in-law. That man...’
 (kna_muhammadshafi05)

Here, the demonstrative is discourse marker of anaphora (“I’ve talked about this person before”), while *sa* marks the specific reference of the noun (“This person is known to me but is unknown to you”).

3.2. Simple modifiers

Simple modifiers in Rutul include articles, demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers, adjectives, bare nouns, locative adverbs and interrogative modifiers. All of them precede the head of an NP.

- (19) articles
 a. *sa* *wayt-inde*
 one time-TMP
 ‘once (lit. in one time)’
 demonstratives
 b. *ha* *riš*
 that girl
 ‘that girl’
 numerals
 c. *juq'u-r* *edemi*
 four-H man
 ‘four people’
 d. *južur=na* *juq'u-d-xus-di* *sida*
 ninety=AND four-4-ORD-ATTR year.IN
 ‘In the year (19)94’
 quantifiers

- e. sin insan-ar
 all person-PL
 ‘all people’

adjectives

- f. q’ix-di riši
 senior-ATTR sister
 ‘older sister’

bare nouns

- g. samur lec’-ur-a
 S. river-OBL-IN
 ‘in Samur river’

locative adverbs

- h. ele-d aʁil-mi-da
 above-ATTR valley-OBL.PL-APUD
 ‘to the upper valley’

interrogative modifiers

- i. šuw ɣabar
 what news
 ‘what news’

The ‘bare nouns’ class consists of two types of modifiers: nouns and noun-like attributes. The first type is described in section 3.2.1. Noun-like attributes decline like nouns but have attributive semantics and occur as modifiers in the unmarked form.

- (20) a. urus xidil-di
 russian woman-ATTR
 ‘Russian woman’
 b. urus-aš-di bejda
 russian-OBL.PL-ATTR near
 ‘near the Russians’

There is no noticeable difference in the syntactic behaviour of *sa* as a numeral and as an article: its position with respect to other modifiers is the same as that of other numerals in all contexts in the corpus. When they cooccur, *sa* precedes another numeral. In languages of the world, the use of the indefinite article along with a numeral might result in approximative semantics (see (Corver, Zwarts 2006) for examples), that indeed happens in Rutul:

- (21) maršrutka-j-a sa mije-r insan a-ni d-iʔi

minibus-OBL-IN one eight-H person be-CVBHPL-COP1

‘There were around 8 people in the minibus.’

Another way to express approximate semantics, more frequent in the corpus, is the combination of consecutive numerals.

- (22) a. q'u'n-di xib-di wazir-a
 two-ATTR three-ATTR month.OBL-IN
 ‘in two or three months’
- b. juju-d miqe-d kilometr
 seven-4 eight-4 kilometer
 ‘seven or eight kilometers’

3.2.1. Appositive constructions

Boguslavskaya (1989: 13-15) claims that East Caucasian appositive constructions (bare noun + noun within one NP) can vary in the following parameters:

- (i) whether it is possible to combine two common nouns
- (ii) whether apposed nouns agree in number
- (iii) the position of a proper noun in contexts like (19g) (before the common noun, after the common noun, in both positions).

According to Boguslavskaya, Luchek Rutul allows appositive constructions with two common nouns, but they do not agree in number, and the proper name can stand on either side of the common noun. The data from Kina Rutul conform with it partly: appositive constructions are allowed, and a proper noun can stand on either side of the common noun (23a, b), but common nouns have to agree in number (24).

- (23) a. haži χiniχ
 H. child
 ‘boy named Haji’
- b. dibir ramazan
 mullah R.
 ‘mullah called Ramazan’
- (24) za-s biga ʁ-e<d>gü-s-i iz-di
 I-DAT tomorrow PV-<HPL>see-INF-FUT I-ATTR
 *gumši/^{OK}**gumšij-mar** **doxtur-ar**
 neighbour/neighbour-PL doctor-PL
 ‘Tomorrow I will see my neighbours, who are doctors.’

Note that noun-like attributes (see section 3.2) do not agree in number with their head.

Obligatory agreement in number might be an indication of the fact that the two apposed common nouns do not form a single constituent. However, apposed nouns do not agree in case:

- (25) **iz-di gumši misab-a-d maʔalim-a-s bala**
 I-ATTR neighbour math-OBL-ATTR teacher-OBL-DAT much
 higa-r=a cari-je-r hiʔi-d χink'al
 4.want.IPFV-CVB=be wife-OBL-ERG 4.do.PFV-ATTR khinkal
 ‘My neighbour, who is math teacher, loves the khinkal⁷ made by his wife.’ (lit. ‘my neighbour teacher of math’)

It seems that two nouns have one common case marker, which might be an indication that they do form an NP. Whether this is the case is, therefore, unclear.

3.3. Complex modifiers

3.3.1. Possessors and the like

Here, the term ‘possessor’ is understood broadly as a noun or pronoun in the attributive form (with suffix *-di* / *-d*, see section 1.1 for details). In general, every noun must take an attributive form to be a dependent of another noun.

- (26) a. **žu-di deg-ij-e**
 self.NF-ATTR den-OBL-IN
 ‘in their den’ (kna_2018_08_msrt_1978)
- b. **pac^wal-e-d t'ili-je-χda**
 burdock-OBL-ATTR leaf-OBL-POST
 ‘under a burdock leaf’ (kna_2018_04_gljh_1942)
- c. **ɤild-i-di wayt-inde**
 summer-OBL-ATTR time-TMP
 ‘in the summertime’ (kna_said04)
- d. **awtomašin-mi-d raʕq**
 automobile-OBL.PL-ATTR road
 ‘highway (lit. automobiles’ road)’ (kna_said02)

Examples (26a, b) show possessive contexts, while in (26c, d) attributive nouns are more adjective-like, they do not denote possession. As mentioned in section 1.1, an attributive suffix attached to the oblique stem of a noun can derive both attributive nouns and adjectives. In most

⁷ Khinkal is a traditional Caucasian dish that consists of boiled pieces of dough with meat (usually mutton) and broth.

cases, it is hard to establish what kind of modifier the noun in attributive form belongs to. There are contexts, however, where it is clear that the noun with an attributive suffix behaves like an adjective, see section 3.6 for details.

When there is more than one attributive dependent, there are two options: (i) the first attributive is a dependent of the second, (ii) the first attributive modifies both the second attributive and a noun. Examples (27a, b) illustrate the first and the second option, respectively:

- (27) a. [[ʒu-dɨ] did-dɨ nin-dɨ] warli-waldɨ
 self(NF)-ATTR father-ATTR mother-ATTR rich-ABSTR
 ‘wealth of his parents (lit. his father’s (and) mother’s wealth)’
- b. ix-dɨ [[xiw-a-d] q’ismat]
 we-ATTR bread-OBL-ATTR fate
 ‘our luck’

There are more examples of the first type than of the second one in the corpus. Constructions of the second type occur when the second attributive forms a single concept with the head noun, as in (27b), where *xiwad q’ismat* ‘luck’ (lit. ‘bread fate’) is idiomatic.

3.3.2. *Relative clauses*

A relative clause modifying a noun can consist only of a participle or of a participle with its dependents.

- (28) [xed hac’a-d] gadi-ješ-a
 water 4.know.IPFV-ATTR guy-OBL.PL-ERG
 ‘boys that can swim (lit. boys who know water)’ (kna_said04)

According to Filatov (2018), nouns in any syntactic position can be relativized in Kina Rutul.

3.4. *Headless noun phrases*

Headless noun phrases are possible in Rutul. In such cases an attributive usually takes the function of a head along with nominal morphology:

- (29) ha mad-dɨ-biš-dɨ
 that other-ATTR-OBL.HPL-ATTR
 ‘of those others’

Also there are examples of a quantifier as a head:

- (30) ži-dī haar sa⁸
 self(F)-ATTR each one
 ‘every one of hers’

There are a lot of examples in texts with headless relative clauses. However, it seems that they do not contain attributive semantics.

- (31) wa-d hiʔi-d šiw iʔ
 you.SG-ERG 4.do.PFV-ATTR what COP2
 ‘What have you done?’ (muhammadshafi_04)

Rutul participles and participle clauses need to be investigated in more detail.

3.5. Syntactic relations within an NP

Modifiers can be divided into three groups: (i) modifiers that have no overt markers of syntactic relation with head noun; (ii) modifiers that need to be marked by an attributive suffix to become a dependent of a noun; (iii) numerals.

The first group comprises quantifiers and bare nouns:

- (32) a. har sid-a
 each year-IN
 ‘every year’
 b. hawalaj babaj-i-s
 H. granny-OBL-DAT
 ‘to granny Hawalay’

Such modifiers do not agree with the head noun in any way (although bare nouns have to bear the same number value as the head, see section 3.2.1).

The second group consists of possessor phrases, adjectives, locative adverbs and relative clauses:

- (33) a. ix-dī mug^w-m-a:
 we-ATTR village-OBL.PL-IN.EL
 ‘from our villages’
 b. pis-dī šiw
 bad-ATTR mountain
 ‘cruel mountain’
 c. ele-d mu^ʕG^w

⁸ *haar sa* ‘each one’ can be considered a lexicalized construction meaning ‘every’. Haspelmath regards it as a single entity in Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 253). The expression is a calque from the Azerbaijani *hər bir* [every one] ‘every’.

- above-ATTR village
 ‘upper village’
- d. mašin-bir ruʔu-d raʕq
 car-PL 4.come.IPFV-ATTR road
 ‘highway (lit. ‘car going road’)

Possessors, adjectives and locative adverbs do not agree with the head noun. As participles are verb forms, they have a gender marker whose agreement is controlled by the S or P argument of the participial clause:

- (34) a. [tini-a: ji<r>q’i-d] awar-a-ra wix-di χiniχ
 yonder-EL <1>come.PFV-ATTR Avar-OBL-ERG you.PL-ATTR son
 jiq’-e haʔa-r=a
 1.die-IMP 1.do.IPFV-CVB=be
 ‘Avar, who came from there, is killing your son’ (kna_muhammadshafi05)
- b. [ubl-i-ra dagul ha<r>i-r=a-d] riš
 wolf-OBL-ERG steal <2>do.PFV-CVB=be-ATTR girl
 ‘the girl who was stolen by the wolves’ (kna_2018_08_msrt_1978)

In the example (34a), the participle *jirq’id* agrees in gender with its semantic S argument (it is the Avar who came). In the example (34b), the participle agrees in gender with its semantical P argument (it is the girl who was stolen).

The demonstratives *mi* ‘this’ and *ha* ‘that’ are optionally marked by attributive.

- (35) mi(-d) riš-e-s
 this(-ATTR) girl-OBL-DAT
 ‘to this girl’ (kna_2018_08_msrt_1978)⁹

ti ‘yonder’ can be used in two forms with a noun: exclusively attributive form *ti* or form *tin* which is also used when this pronoun is in an argument position.

- (36) a. ti edemi-je-ra
 yonder man-OBL-ERG
 ‘to this man’ (kna_muhammadshafi05)
- b. tin ermeni-ra
 yonder Armenian-ERG
 ‘that Armenian’ (kna_2018_17_gljh_1942)
- c. tin-bir la-d-ič’i-r=a
 yonder-PL PV-HPL-<IPFV>jump.IPFV-CVB=be

⁹ Both contexts occur in texts.

‘they jumped’ (kna_said04)

The third group consists of numerals. Numerals (except for ‘one’) agree with the head noun in gender but change their form depending on the case of the head noun. If the head noun is in the absolutive case, the numeral agrees with it in gender. If the head noun is in an oblique case (no matter what case it is), the numeral is marked by an attributive suffix and does not agree with the head noun.

- (37) a. juq’u-r edemi
four-H man
‘four men’
- b. juq’u-d sen
four-4 year
‘four years’
- c. [xib-dī χinχ-i-s] [xib χi^sr] hiwi-r
three-ATTR child-OBL-DAT three.3 pear 3.give.PFV-CVB
‘(he) gives three pears to three boys’ (kna_pears_hadizhat)

The only exception is the numeral *sa* ‘one’ which is used in the same form with nouns of any gender and case.

- (38) a. sa χiniχ
one son
‘one son’
- b. sa waz-ir-a
one month-OBL-IN
‘in one month’

Note that ordinal numerals are used in the same form with both absolutive and oblique head and agree in gender with the head in all cases:

- (39) a. xibi-d-xus-dī c’ic’
three-4-ORD-ATTR grasshopper.4
‘third grasshopper’
- b. xibi-r-xus-dī edemi/edemi-je-s
three-H-ORD-ATTR man/man-OBL-DAT
‘third man/to third man’

(Mukhin 2019)

3.6. The order of modifiers within an NP

There are only a few restrictions in the order of modifiers within a Rutul NP. Nevertheless, there is a tendency towards a particular order of modifiers, that can be seen from texts:

(40) Poss + Dem + Num + Adj + bare noun + **head**

Poss is a possessor, *Dem* are all kind of demonstratives, *Num* is cardinal numeral (including *sa* ‘one’ in the article function), *Adj* stands for adjective.

The tendency towards this particular order is supported by the fact that the order of modifiers in first responses which consultants gave to the Russian stimuli correspond to the order given in (40).

Possible relative orders of modifiers are summarized in Table 4. The table shows the relative order of pairs of modifiers: rows are the modifiers that come first, columns – those that come second. *Pr* stands for pronoun, *CN* – common noun, *PN* – proper name.

Tab. 4. Possible orders of modifiers within NP.

	possessor	dem	sa	numeral	adj	bare noun	rel	locative adverb
possessor		ok	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok
dem	ok (Pr, PN)		ok	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok
	# (CN)							
sa	ok	ok		ok	ok	ok	ok	ok
numeral	ok	ok	N/A		ok	ok	ok	*
adj	ok (Pr)	ok	ok	ok		ok	ok	ok
	# (noun)							
bare noun	ok (CN)	* (PN)	ok	ok	ok		N/A	N/A
	* (PN)							
rel	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok	N/A		N/A
locative adverb	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok	N/A	N/A	

When demonstratives and adjectives precede nominal possessors, they are understood as dependents of the possessor, not of the possessee. Demonstratives and adjectives are compatible with pronominal and proper name possessors, as the latter do not take demonstratives or adjectives as dependents.

Preposing a numeral to a locative adverb results in a split noun phrase:

- (41) a. **ele-d** **q'wa^ɕ-dχal** jis-di-bir jiʔi
 up-ATTR two-4 house old-ATTR-PL NPL.COP1
 ‘Two upper houses are old.’
- b. **q'wa^ɕ-d** **ele-d** **χal-bir** jis-di-bir jiʔi
 two-4/NPL up-ATTR house-PL old-ATTR-PL NPL.COP1
 ‘Two upper houses are old.’

As mentioned in section 1.1, Rutul numerals require singular form of the noun. As in (41b) the noun *χal* ‘house’ is in plural, the numeral and the noun do not form a single constituent, they are two different noun phrases.

Dryer (2007b: 114-115) notes that in most languages, interrogatives “occur in the same place as corresponding noninterrogative words”. This seems to be the case for Rutul, too. For example, the order of *haldi* ‘whose’ and *šumub* ‘how many’ in the following example is the same as of possessor and numeral:

- (42) hal-di šumu-b čabal
 who.obl-ATTR how.much-3 sheep
 ‘how many of whose sheep?’ (kna_2018_02_aziz_1969)

Adjectives derived from nouns can be distinguished from nouns in the attributive form (see 3.3.1. for details) by their position within an NP.

- (43) wi abir-di-d šuw-di edemi i
 you.SG respect-OBL-ATTR what-ATTR man COP2
 xur=x^{wa}, bitri-d abir-di-d xur=x^{wa}
 QUOT=ADD beautiful-ATTRrespect-OBL-ATTR QUOT=ADD
 ‘You are a somewhat respectable man, handsome and respectable’
 (kna_2018_05_gljh_1942)

Here, *abirdid* ‘respectable’ follows the adjective *bitrid* ‘beautiful’. As established, adjectives follow possessor nouns. The conclusion is that *abirdid* is not a noun, it is an adjective.

As for quantifiers, various quantifiers behave differently. *har* ‘every’, *p'eʔdi* ‘few’ and *bala* ‘many’ precede all of the modifiers in an NP.

- (44) a. [**har** muc^w-a-biš-di dawat] hiχ-di-bir
 every village-IN-OBL.HPL-ATTR wedding good-ATTR-PL
 i, šeher-d-ja-biš-di sa=kal-di-bir
 COP2 town-ATTR-IN-OBL.HPL-ATTR one=simil-ATTR-PL
 ‘Every wedding in a village is good, those in town are all alike.’

- b. za-s [p'eʔ-di did-di dust-ar]
 I-DAT few-ATTR father-ATTR friend-PL
 ʁ-e<d>gü-r=a, siena-bir šeher-de
 PV-<HPL>see.PFV-CVB=be all-PL town-IN
 ha<t>χi^f-r=a
 <HPL>leave.PFV-CVB=be
 'I have seen few of my father's friends, all of them have left for the city.'
- c. **bala** mu^Gw-u-d sir
 many village-OBL-ATTR secret
 'many secrets of the village' (kna_muhammadshafi01)

sin 'all' occupies a position between a demonstrative and an adjective.

- (45) a. [mi **sin** insan-ar] mi^fχ-a: ji<d>q'i-r=a
 this all person-PL Rutul-IN.EL <HPL>come.PFV-CVB=be
 'All these people came from Rutul.'
- b. da^ʔwi-je-d wayt-inde [**sin** say-di wiyle-ši-χda]
 war-OBL-ATTR time-TMP all healthy-ATTR man-OBL.PL-POST
 front-a ses w-aʔa-r i
 battle.front-IN sound 3-do.IPFV-CVB COP2
 'In wartime, all healthy men are called to go to war.'

The position between a demonstrative and an adjective is the position of a numeral. The combination of *sin* with a numeral results in an inclusive meaning (Mukhin 2019), but whether they form a single constituent is obscure:

- (46) za-d q'u^f-nuw/*q'uⁿ-di si-nuwi-s šehi-bir
 I-ERG two-OBL/*two-ATTR all-OBL.H-DAT money-pl
 hawi-r
 npl.give.PFV-CVB
 'I gave money to both (of them).'

If *sin* was the head and 'two' the dependent, the numeral would have taken an attributive form (see section 3.5 for details). On the other hand, both the numeral and the quantifier share the dative case marker *-s*. It is yet unknown whether two separate NPs can share case markers.

Although the order of modifiers is almost free, some of the combinations appear more often than others. For example, there is a strong tendency to place an adjective before the numeral: there are nine examples of this order in texts as opposed to just one example of the reversed order.

3.7. Postposed modifiers

If a modifier follows its head, there are two options: (i) the modifier goes right after the head noun; (ii) the modifier goes after its head and they are separated by other constituents. The first option is discussed in this section, while the second option is discussed in section 3.8.

As in other East Caucasian languages, in measure constructions which consist of a numeral, a head measure word and noun in attributive form, the attributive follows the head:

- (47) q^w'a-b istek'an xe-ji-d ki-a<w>a
 two-3 glass water-OBL-ATTR CONT-<3>add.IMP
 'Add two glasses of water.'

The head-final order, however, is possible too:

- (48) ^{OK}je-χda sa xiw-a-d č'ik maa
 we-POST one bread-OBL-ATTR piece <3>remain
 'There is only one piece of bread left at ours.'

Without a numeral, head-final order is apparently more usual:

- (49) pirog-a-d tik-iji-la
 pie-OBL-ATTR piece-OBL-SUP.EL
 'pieces of pie'

As for the other modifiers, their ability to be postposed depends on the case of the head noun. If the head is in absolutive, all of the modifiers can be postposed. If the head is in the oblique case (i.e. not absolutive), modifiers behave variously. There are two groups of modifiers:

- those that can be postposed: relative clauses, adjectives, numerals and pronominal possessors;
- those that are dispreferred in postposition: demonstratives, *sa* and proper nouns.

There are so far no data on nominal possessors and locative adverbs.

Most of the consultants did not notice any difference in meaning when the modifier is postposed. Some consultants, however, notice contrastive semantics on the modifier.

- (50) a. zer xib q-iq'i-r=a-j
 cow three.3 RE-<3>come.PFV-CVB=be-PST
 'Three cows came.' (consultant's comment: "Three cows came, other two cows did not, only three cows came.")
- b. χinχ-i-s mi-d riš ɤ-a<r>gu-r=a
 child-OBL-DAT this-ATTR girl PV-<2>see.PFV-CVB=be
 'THIS boy saw a girl.'

3.8. *Discontinuous NPs*

Kazenin (2009) distinguishes two types of discontinuous NPs: simple splits and inverted splits (discontinuous expressions). Simple splits keep the usual order of a head and a modifier. In East Caucasian languages, simple splits are discontinuous expressions where the modifier occurs before the head (as NPs are head-final). An inverted split is a discontinuous expression with an inverted head-modifier order, i.e. the head occurs before the modifier. Both types of splits are allowed in Rutul in the sense of word order. NP structure, however, is not always kept in such contexts. Inverted splits are more common than simple splits, there are almost no occurrences of the latter in the texts.

3.8.1. *Simple splits*

Unlike postposed modifiers (see section 3.7), the difference between absolutive and non-absolutive heads of discontinuous expressions is not so striking. Simple splits are allowed for all types of modifiers except relative clauses and proper nouns. It is a question whether proper nouns should be regarded as modifiers. Nevertheless, there is a contrast: a proper noun cannot precede a common noun denoting the same referent if they are not juxtaposed, while the opposite is possible:

- (51) a. *rasul tinⁱ-e s-^{uq}'u-r=a χiniχ
 R. there-IN PV-1.sit.PFV-CVB=be child
 intended meaning: 'There sits a boy named Rasul.' (comments of the
 consultants: "It means nothing", "Either say 'Rasul' or 'a boy', not both.")
- b. ^{OK}χiniχtinⁱ-e s-^{uq}'u-r=a rasul
 child there-IN PV-1.sit.PFV-CVB=be R.
 'There sits a boy named Rasul.'

Note that each example from (51) is a single intonational unit.

3.8.2. *Inverted splits*

Some examples of inverted splits in texts have interrupted intonation, the modifier is added as an afterthought. For other examples, however, this does not seem to be the case. Inverted splits are possible for all the modifiers if the head is in the absolutive, while if the head is in the oblique, inverted splits are less felicitous. NPs with *sa* do not allow inverted splits.

At least for some of the modifiers there is evidence that they do not form a single constituent with a head in postposed discontinuous expressions.

- (52) *zer-i-s/^{OK}zi-biši-s uq' ɤ-agu-r=a
 cow-OBL-DAT/cow-OBL.PL-DAT grass PV-4.see.PFV-CVB=be
 xib-di
 three-ATTR
 'Three cows saw grass.'

In this example, the noun *zer* 'cow' is allowed only in the plural form. Since a numeral requires a singular form of the noun (see section 1.1), it means that here the noun does not form a single constituent with the numeral.

As with postposed modifiers described in the previous section, some consultants notice contrastive meaning in inverted splits.

- (53) χiniχ jaχi-r=a mi-d
 child 1.run.PFV-CVB=be this-ATTR
 'This is the boy who ran away.'

4 Conclusion

The Rutul NP is similar to NPs of other East Caucasian languages. It is head-final, there is a tendency towards a particular order of modifiers. Most of the modifiers do not agree with the head noun, the main way to make something a dependent of a noun is by means of the attributive suffix.

The numeral *sa* 'one' has more functions than other numerals, so it can be considered an indefinite article. On the contrary, demonstratives, despite being widely used in anaphoric function, cannot be considered definite articles.

Corpus study can show what tendencies are there in a language. Elicitation provides data on what is possible in a language and what is not. Nevertheless many things are possible in Kina Rutul, not all of them are used with equal frequency, which is seen from the texts. Not everything that is combined with a noun shows the properties of its dependent: adjectives and possessors seem to be more bound with the head noun than bare nouns and quantifiers.

Discontinuous NPs seem to be infelicitous in Rutul: if the head and modifier are separated by another constituent, they lose syntactic connection. This question, however, needs to be studied more closely.

List of abbreviations

1 – first gender

3 – third gender

3P – third person

4 – fourth gender

ABSTR – abstract noun

ADD – additive

ATTR – attributive

COM – comitative

COP – copula

CVB – converb

DAT – dative

EL – elative

EMPH – emphatic

ERG – ergative

GEN – genitive

H – human

HPL – human plural

IMP – imperative

IPFV – imperfective stem

LAT – lative

OBL – oblique stem

ORD – ordinal

PFV – perfective stem

PL – plural

POSS – possessive

PST – past tense

PV – preverb (verbal prefix)

QUOT – quotative

SG – singular

SIMIL – similitive

SUP – super

TMP – temporal

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